MOTHER EAR...

Vol. XI. June, 1916 No.

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OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS

WE CALL the attention of our readers to the article in this issue about the revolution in Ireland by the Irish poet, Padraic Colum.

For the moment, the revolution in Ireland is suppressed. The English government has waded deeply into the blood of the Irish rebels. It revealed its contemptible hypocrisy by the cold-blooded slaughter of the best and bravest men of Ireland, while posing at the same time as the humane protector of the rights of small nations and races. Verily, no other State on the face of the earth has gluttoned and enriched itself to such an extent by robbing and enslaving small and big nations as England.

The Irish revolution may grow in significance and importance in the near future. The rebels of Dublin may become the advance guard of an international social revolution, which will shake the very foundations of all governments and privileged classes, who have thrown humanity into the hell-fire of this war. The bold spirit of the Irish rebels, their hopes, sufferings and martyrdom will certainly arouse the masses of European and American peoples. It will be realized that they fought and died for more than a mere national issue, that their noble example and sacrifice worked like a trumpet call and storm signal to all the oppressed of the earth.

SEVERAL of the most vicious physical ailments are at the same time the most contagious. That applies to mental diseases also. Superstition, prejudice, patriotism, nationalism furnish sad examples of the truth of the assertion. While they rapidly infect brains and hearts, they create that peculiar insanity which maintains that ammunition, the slaughtering of millions, annexing and enslaving countries and peoples are the only practical means to arbitrate the contentions between nations.

In this country the contagion of these deadly diseases has spread so marvelously that the traders and workers in the universal murder business can rub their hands with glee.

Charles Whitman, Governor of the State of New York, signed five bills recently, which establish militarism as the supreme force. He is invested by these laws with an arbitrary power which is not inferior to that of the German Kaiser who is "responsible only to God."

Section 9 of the Stivers bill provides:

"Whenever it shall be necessary to call out any portion of the reserve militia for active duty, is case of *insurrection, invasion, tumult, riot* or breach of the peace or imminent danger thereof, or when called forth for service under the constitution and laws of the United States, the Governor may call for and accept as many volunteers as are required for such service, or he may direct his order to the Mayor of any city or the Supervisor of any town, who, on receipt of the same, shall forthwith proceed to draft as many of the reserve militia in his city or town, or accept as many volunteers as are required by the Governor, and shall forthwith forward to the Governor a list of the persons so drafted or accepted as volunteers."

By compulsion, every man in the State from 18 to 45 years who cannot show cause for exemption, will be a member of the reserve militia. What these bills provide for is nothing less than general conscription and compulsion. The threatened punishment makes this point especially clear:

"Every member of the militia ordered out or called into service as a member of the National Guard or Naval Militia, or who volunteers or is drafted under the provisions of this article, who does not appear at the time and place designated by his commanding officer, the Mayor or Supervisor within twenty-four hours from such time, or who does not produce a sworn certificate of physical disability from a physician in good standing to so appear, shall be taken to be a deserter and dealt with as prescribed in the articles of war of the United States."

Other passages of the bills provide in the most extended manner for obligatory military training and disciplining of school children and students of colleges and universities.

How far-seeing the rulers of the country are! In order to make obedient tools of the adults they first carefully poison the minds and hearts of the young people!

The militarism thus forced upon the people over night distinguishes itself from Russian and Prussian militarism only through a greater amount of hypocrisy, disguising the game by the innocent sounding names of militia and reserve militia.

Governor Whitman is so proud of the achievement that he expressed the hope that the whole nation would adopt the military plan of New York State. On the contrary, if the whole nation had any initiative and could think, it would send Whitman and the other great statesmen, who want to fling it into the abyss of militarism, about their business.

The enforcement of the conscription law will begin in August. Then we shall see whether or not the lawmakers were right in their estimation that the people are only a herd of unthinking subjects, who blindly follow the whistle and drum of their tormentors.

* * *

THE success of the preparedness parade in New York was due to money, bluff, cheap excitement, servility, and slavish dependence. In many cases the people marched the streets out of sheer stupidity and curiosity, anticipating a great show. But in many other cases they marched because they were afraid of losing their jobs and arousing the displeasure of bosses and "higher-ups," who are in a position to avenge their hurt patriotic feelings upon the disobedient in a practical manner.

What a fine state of affairs! What liberty and equality when men and women in factories and offices are threatened with discharge and starvation if they dare to disregard the wishes and commands of the "bread-giver!"

Thousands and thousands of the paraders must have felt that by demonstrating for preparedness and militarism they demonstrated in reality their own degradation and servitude. Lack of courage to refuse the humiliating

insinuation, deplorable absence of strong convictions and of free will—these were the truly sad features of the disgusting spectacle.

All over the world, in monarchies and republics, military power was always used against the working people as soon as they stood up for their human rights. This means that we must prepare not for but against militarism, which was and is to-day more than ever the main prop of all governmental and capitalistic tyranny.

* * *

IN SPITE of labor politicians and the American Federation of Labor, masses of American workingmen showed something like a bold fighting spirit in the recent strike movements all over the country. They have learned through many a bitter experience that it is futile to wait for the "leaders," and they get ready here and there to take matters into their own hands.

Now that every country editor shouts himself hoarse about the arrival of prosperity—red with the blood of the murdered and crippled millions in Europe, it should seem quite natural that the toilers who produce the goods, sold with such immense profits, should have a share in it. But that is not the idea of the masters. Wherever the workingmen ask for their share, they are confronted with the hired thugs and murderers of plutocracy. Deputy sheriffs and guards armed to the teeth, are ready to fire into the "mob." The papers and good citizens yell for the militia, and finally the courts declare that the first principle of sacred freedom is to uphold the "liberty" of the strike-breakers to make contemptible slaves of themselves. This is the ideal the fathers of the country fought for, according to the courts.

Such, at least, is what happened recently around Pittsburgh in the Westinghouse strike. Several strikers have been killed, many wounded, and sent to jail. Especially were those spokesmen of the workers picked out for arrest who were known as radicals.

The strikers were usually unarmed; the thugs of Mammon, on the other hand, were well armed with all the modern implements necessary to murder fellow-creatures. But the courts seem to take it for granted that riots and violence are always provoked by the workers and not by the capitalistic cut-throats.

And then after the "riotous foreigners have been beaten into submission," we are informed that law and order are restored again to the happy community.

With all that, these strikes arouse the workers from their everyday drowsiness. They may not result in immediate material gains, but they strengthen the spirit of resistance and reveal to the workers their own pitiful economic and social position. A comrade from Pittsburgh writes us about the present situation thereabout:

"While I think that most of the strikes will fail and that most of the strikers will be defeated in their present fight, it has certainly lit the fires of radicalism and revolt in a great many, and even though the Manufacturer's Association wins, it cannot crush the unrest and growing hatred for oppression which these strikes have brought out. The presence of the National Guard has certainly not proved to the interest of that organization in the matter of future recruiting from that section. The strikers greet them with hoots and yells."

* * *

REPORTS from Los Angeles show that the jury in the Caplan trial could not reach an agreement. After 72 hours deliberation, seven of the jurors voted for conviction, the remaining five for acquital.

It would be interesting to know whether it was the "evidence" given chiefly by professional stool pigeons and Judases, that made the jurors doubtful about the justice of the State's case.

If, meanwhile, no new action has been taken by the State, the release of Caplan from prison must have been ordered, and it may also indicate a favorable outcome in connection with the appeal of Matthew A. Schmidt, which is pending.

* * *

OUR comrades, the Brothers Magon, will go to trial in Los Angeles, May 31st. It has been impossible to get them out on bail, although the physicians who visited Ricardo testified that he was very sick and probably would not survive the awful conditions in prison. In reply to this, the Judge before whom the application for bail was made, said: "If Magon were dying, I would oppose a reduction of the bond. If he is released on a smaller bond, he is likely to assist in the killing of some other good Americans through the inflammatory utterances of

his paper." Our readers will see the grave condition in which our two comrades find themselves. From a letter received a few days ago we quote:

"Not the Magons will be tried, but Anarchism. However, we are mighty glad, as it will give us a chance to come into the lair of the capitalist beast and to expound our ideas. The treatment accorded so far is beyond description. Our enemies know that we cannot be bought, although they have approached us in different ways and have made the most lucrative offers. When that failed, they used direct threats against our lives, and now they are trying to break our spirit and to murder one of us. But of course they shall not succeed."

It is hardly necessary to impress upon our readers the necessity of coming to the rescue of these two brave rebels who have for years been the target for the Harrison Gray Otis and the Hearst interests. We hope our friends will contribute to their defense and write them letters of encouragement. Address Ricardo and Enrico Magon, County Jail, Los Angeles, Cal.

* * *

THIS country is plagued by a black scourge of espionage. The spy is everywhere. He furnishes the material for investigations, trials, divorce suits, political feuds. He discovers labor conspiracies, bomb plots. If the material is not quite on hand, he sets to work and fabricates it, trusting that the courts will uphold his criminal activity as the most valuable safeguard for society.

The sleuths, backed by the police of New York, have now taken hold of the telephone. Dozens of telephone wires have been tapped in this city in the interest and by order of wealthy concerns and public officials. A vast swamp of stinking corruption, of low, ignoble cunning has been uncovered, but the prominent people concerned are evidently of the opinion that this is quite the natural atmosphere to breathe and transact business in.

An investigation is being carried on, but will probably only result in the usual lot of red tape. Sacred are the interests of big business and higher officialdom! They work with the spies under the pretext that great crimes may be detected. But meanwhile, their own existence and practices are the worst crimes perpetrated against humanity.

WHEN Ben L. Reitman offered as testimony the signatures of eight thousand people demanding Birth Control information, the Judges ruled it out of order saying that the function of law is not to go into the social aspect of a crime, but merely to be enforced. By that the Judges demonstrated better than our friend Ben could have done that the law and the courts are the coldest anti-social institutions in existence. No doubt the Judges in giving Ben two months thought that they would set an example to those who dare to continue in their defiance of the law. But they will find themselves mistaken in Ben's case as they have in all the other cases. The demonstration on Union Square, Saturday, May 20th, attended by nearly ten thousand people, where Birth Control circulars were given out perfectly free was the answer to the imprisonment of our comrade. As to Ben himself, he never was in a better frame of mind. He is active and alert and takes his imprisonment as a huge joke, which only goes to prove that one may be a real rebel and yet not lose one's sense of humor.

TO DELINQUENT SUBSCRIBERS

IN THE last issue of MOTHER EARTH it was stated that the second class privilege was taken away from Comrade Berkman. This is an error. He still has the privilege, but the San Francisco post office refuses to mail "The Blast." All efforts on the part of our comrade to ascertain the cause for this arbitrary measure on the part of the postal authorities have so far met with no response. This is unparalelled by anything the postal authorities have done so far. Meanwhile Alexander Berkman is making a desperate struggle to keep "The Blast" alive. Only those who know what that struggle means will be able to appreciate his position. We hope our friends will assist him.

* * *

WE REGRET to let you know that we can no longer keep you on our list. We have sent you notices repeatedly, but as we have received no reply, we take it that you are no longer interested in MOTHER EARTH. Still we are making our last appeal, and if you still fail to respond, you will understand that this is the last issue that will reach you.

A PAEAN OF FREEDOM

By Padraic H. Pearse

THIS vivid utterance is one of the last published writings of the martyred leader of the recent Irish uprising. We present only excerpts from a longer article.

"Freedom is so splendid a thing that one cannot worthily state it in the terms of a definition; one has to write in some flaming symbol or sing it in a music riotous with the uproar of heaven. A Danton and a Mitchel can speak more adequately of freedom than a Voltaire or a Burke, for they have drunk more deeply of that wine with which God inebriates the votaries of vision. But even the sublimest things. . .can be stated in terms of philosophy, and it is needful to do this now and then, although such a statement in no way affects the spiritual fact which one either feels or does not feel. So it is sometimes necessary to state. . .what freedom is, although one's statement may not reveal the awful beauty of his nation's soul to a single man or move a single village to put up its barricade. . .

"Some of the greatest teachers have been literary men only incidentally, but their teaching has none the less the splendor of great literary utterances. .The masters of literature do not always label themselves. When a great soul utters a great truth have we not always good literature? That is why the true gospels of the world are always true literature. Those who have preached the divine worth of faith and justice and charity and freedom have done so in glorious and imperishable words."

⚜ ⚜ ⚜

ANARCHISM—The philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestricted by man made law; the theory that all forms of government rest on violence, and are therefore wrong and harmful, as well as unnecessary.

ON THE DEATH OF JAMES CONNOLLY AND FRANCIS SHEEHY-SKEFFINGTON

BY PADRAIC COLUM

WHEN they took Francis Sheehy-Skeffington from the street, shot him to death in a barrack-yard and buried him as gunmen bury their victim —when they took James Connolly out of his bed, and, propping him against a wall did the like by him, the British militarists in Ireland knew well what they were doing—they were killing the two men who were the coolest, the most intelligent, and the most resolute enemies of oppression alive in Ireland. And when they shot Connolly to death, it seemed as if they had shot the heart and brain out of the Irish proletariat.

James Connolly and Francis Sheehy-Skeffington had in the highest degree the quality of devotion—of heroic devotion. Skeffington had devoted himself to the idea of liberty—he was for the oppressed nationality, the oppressed class, the oppressed sex, the oppressed man. No Irishman fought the battle for liberty at so many points as did this eager, buoyant man. James Connolly was more exclusive in his devotion. He gave himself to the cause of the workers of the Irish cities. With a will and an intelligence that would have brought him to the easy chair and the good bank account, he refused to leave his comrades, the semi-skilled workmen of Ireland. It was to show their position in the past and the present that he wrote his fine study in economics, "Labor in Irish History." It was to help their cause that he returned from America. He put all his will and all his fine and trained intelligence into an effort to make a social order in which the Irish worker would have food and house-room, knowledge and fine thought, with some ease of mind for his wife and a happy growth for his children.

When an outsider called at the office of "The Irish Worker," while James Connolly was in charge, he found there a heavy, earnest man who regarded him with deep-set eyes that had in them the shrewdness of the North-of-Ireland man. When this earnest heavy man stood up to speak to a crowd of impoverished Dublin workpeople, his deep-set eyes had flashes in them. The man was a

fighter. All his blows were as shrewd as mother-wit and an intellectual training could make them. He spoke as one who had made all preparations, who had the resolution to go on, and who knew what terms would mean victory for his people. He spoke, as I always thought, like the Chief of a General Army Staff. I was not astonished when I saw that he had the command of the little Army of the Irish Republic.

He knew history and he knew economics, but he knew, too, that the militant force that was necessary in the Irish cities could not be built around abstractions. "This Union," he said, speaking of the Irish Transport Workers' Union, "has from its inception fought shy of all theorizing or philosophizing about history or tradition, but, addressing itself directly to the work nearest its hand, has fought to raise the standard of labor conditions in Dublin to at least an approximation to decent human conditions. To do this it has used as its inspiring battle-cry, as the watchword of its members, as the key-word of its message, the affirmation that 'An injury to one is the concern of all.'" The problem of the Irish workers had been shamefully neglected by the politicians. James Larkin and James Connolly created an organization that gave the workers solidarity—a thing difficult to do in Dublin, where there are few specialized industries and where general or unskilled labor bears a greater proportion to the whole body of workers than elsewhere, where the workers are often engaged in totally dissimilar industries. But the Irish Transport Workers' Union was created—a memorable thing in the history of Ireland. Then after the capitalists and the government authorities made a frontal attack upon the Union in 1913, James Connolly with another, a man of military experience, founded a defensive force for the Union—the Irish Citizen Army. In March last, when Irish nationalist journals were being suppressed and their type was being broken up by the authorities, the rifles of the Irish Citizen Army turned back the force that was sent to obliterate Connolly's paper "The Worker's Republic."

In James Connolly's household, between husband and wife, and father and children there was a wonderful comradeship. He had eight children, most of them girls,

and all of them young. I knew one of his children—Nora—for a longer time than I knew Connolly himself. This child had been wisely and finely trained. She has the spirit of the Spartan with the mind of the Gael. She knows as much of song and story as the most fortunate peasant child; she knows what forces are in the way of freedom for her country and her people; she has all the spirit of class and national solidarity. With her bravery and her training she was well prepared to enter the combat.

Now that heavy, earnest man, that brave and clear-minded fighter has been shot to death, it is hard to think that the loss to Ireland is not irreparable. I find it difficult to believe that we will see in our time a man who will give the Irish workers such brave and disinterested service—who will give, as Connolly gave them, his mind, his heart, his life. He made a discovery in Irish history, and the workers of Ireland will be more and more influenced by what he wrote when he said "that the conquest of Ireland had meant the social and political servitude of the Irish masses, and therefore the re-conquest of Ireland must mean the social, as well as the political, independence from servitude of every man, woman and child in Ireland. In other words, the common ownership of all Ireland by *all* the Irish."

I shall remember Francis Sheehy-Skeffington as the happiest spirit I ever knew. He fought for enlightenment with a sort of angelic courage; austere, gay, uncompromising. Since he wrote his student pamphlet on Woman's Suffrage he was in the front of every liberalizing movement in Ireland. He was not a bearer of arms in the insurrection—he was a pacifist. But because they knew that his courage and his enlightenment made him a guide for the people, they took him on his way to his home where his wife and child were, and shot him in a barrack-yard without even the form of court-martial The matter will be inquired into, says Primier Asquith! But Skeffington is dead now, and the spiritual life of Ireland has been depleted by as much of the highest courage, the highest sincerity, the highest devotion as a single man could embody.

BEN L. REITMAN BEFORE THE BAR

THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
against
BEN L. REITMAN

May 8, 1916

THE trial of Dr. Ben L. Reitman, accused by Edward Swann, the District Attorney of the County of New York, of "the crime of unlawfully possessing printed matter of indecent character," took place in the Court of Special Sessions before Justices Russell, McInerney and Moss. Judge Russell—Chief Justice Isaac Franklin Russell—has the reputation of being more liberal than his colleagues, but he gave no evidence of his liberality in this trial. Judge McInerney is the man who sentenced William Sanger to jail, and who declared that "if more men went around advising Christian women to have children," it would be better for society. Judge Moss was the Presiding Justice in the present case, and he did most of the talking.

Emma Goldman was in Court, and followed the proceedings closely. With her were Rose Pastor Stokes, Anna Sloan, Marie Yuster, and a number of other women-sympathizers. Bolton Hall and Leonard Abbott were also in Court. The former interceded with Judge Moss in Dr. Reitman's behalf. The latter was called to the witness to testify as to the character of the meeting in Harlem Masonic Temple, at which the alleged "crime" had been committed.

After a long and tiresome wait in Court, during which the unfortunates of society were arraigned and convicted and an ex-police official was acquitted, Dr. Reitman's case was called. He stepped to the front with buoyant step. He was asked if he had a lawyer, or if he wanted a lawyer. He replied that he would conduct his own case. The argument which he proceded to make was well thought out, and good-humored. His demeanor, throughout, was that of a man who had acted from a compelling inner urge; who had broken the law, in this matter of distributing birth control information, from conscientious motives and because he believed that humanity needed the information.

A detective was put on the stand. He testified that he had attended a meeting in Harlem Masonic Temple on Sunday evening, April 23rd; that Reitman and Leonard Abbott had spoken at the meeting, which was in the nature of a protest against the imprisonment of Emma Goldman; and that birth control circulars were distributed. One of the circulars was put in evidence.

Then the following occurred. We follow the official stenographer's version:

JUDGE MOSS: The charge against you and the issue here is a simple one. Did you either circulate, distribute or cause to be circulated or distributed these pamphlets or leaflets or circulars like the one admitted in evidence? That's a simple question. That's clear and we will advise you in every way.

THE DEFENDANT: I suppose legally I might get out of this; that I did not distribute it myself, but I will take the responsibility or the honor for the distribution of these.

Doctor Reitman made six motions for the dismissal of his case. On of these motions was based on the ground that Sections 1141 and 1142 of the Penal Code, under which he was indicted, are unconstitutional and in direct violation of the Constitution of the State and of the Nation, which guarantees the right of free speech and free press. All of the motions were denied.

Then the following transpired:

JUDGE McINERNEY: Have you read 1142? You are a sensible man.

THE DEFENDANT: I have read 1142.

JUDGE McINERNEY: The law says that a person who lends, sells, gives away or advertises for sale, loan or distribution of these articles, and then it goes on and says any drug or medicine for the prevention of conception by causing an unlawful abortion or purporting to be for the prevention of conception or causing unlawful abortion, or holds out representations that it can be so used or applied, or gives information orally, stating when, where, how, by whom such recipe, article, can be obtained

—it practically says that anybody who distributes such article or gives information as to those devices—that's the law.

THE DEFENDANT: Are the laws made for men or men made for the laws?

THE COURT: The laws are made to be enforced.

THE DEFENDANT: They are trying to change the law.

JUDGE McINERNEY: Until such time you have to abide by the law as it is on the statute book. In a year or two those things that you are advocating may be lawful, but for the present, in this State, the laws as they are on the statute books say what you are doing is unlawful. Whatever eventually may be the outcome of your theory, the law in this State prohibits you from doing it unless you want to take the consequences of violating the statute.

THE DEFENDANT: We believe in doing propaganda to show the urgent need of birth control information, and my one point is this, that this birth control propaganda is essential to the people. They want it. They haven't permitted us to get it legally. Therefore there is no other way to do it but illegally.

Doctor Reitman was next put on the stand, and testified in his own behalf as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION BY JUDGE MOSS:

Q. You have heard the testimony and evidence of Officer McGee upon the witness-stand? A. Yes.

Q. On the 23rd of April, 1916, at Masonic Temple, in the City and County of New York, that you caused to be distributed a leaflet here which is introduced in evidence. People's Exhibit 1? Is there anything by way of explanation or any statement you wish to make in reference to that testimony, or what you did on the night in question? A. I would like to be able to explain why I was a party to the distribution of that pamphlet, if I may.

Q. Were you a party to the distribution of the pamphlet? A. I was a party to the distribution of the pamphlet on that evening.

Q. April 23rd? A. April 23rd.

Q. How were the pamphlets distributed? A. The pamphlets were on a table and we had been talking about birth control propaganda. Miss Goldman was in jail and I said one of the ways to keep this birth control issue alive and to have the laws changed, is for the people to show an interest and to make a practical application. I said, "How many people are there in the audience who would like a pamphlet?", and the whole audience raised their hands. I said, "How many people are there in the audience who would distribute such a pamphlet?" I said to the people, "Some of the courts have ruled that this thing is illegal and you are liable to be arrested," and fully half of the people in the audience—it was a representative audience—came forward and took pamphlets and distributed them.

Q. Pamphlets like this? A. Pamphlets like that.

Q. And they were distributed in the audience? A. Yes, sir. I knew the officer was there.

Q. Is there anything else you want to say? A. I would like to explain my reason for that.

Q. You had better not go into the merits; as to whether it is right and according to law, is there anything you want to say now? We want to give you every latitude. A. I want to justify my act. I am an American physician and I am a teacher. I want, if I can, to live in harmony with the laws. I want to teach my friends to do the same thing. I want to respect the laws, but, if the laws are such as to interefere with human expression and human need, I don't see anything else but to disregard the law. In the words of a very able woman (Rose Pastor Stokes) I can't do anything but honor the law by breaking it. There is no evil intent to commit crime. We want to help the human race. We believe by birth control the human race will be better, that we will have better and happier babies. Here comes a statute that interferes with us. There are a group of people working on the repeal and a bill will be introduced in the Legislature. Out of our work in all the States, we came to the conclusion that we would have a number of arrests and if we got up against the different judges we would come up against a modern judge who would give us a ruling and permit us to go on with this work.

JUDGE McINERNEY: You are a doctor?
THE DEFENDANT: Yes, sir.
JUDGE McINERNEY: You are undoubtedly a man that has received a very fine education. Don't you know that the judges don't change the law?
THE DEFENDANT: Yes, I understand that.
JUDGE McINERNEY: Then, to follow out your theory, how can you expect to have the law on the statute books changed by some judge?
THE DEFENDANT: I know enough about the law to know that judges are allowed a lot of leeway to use their intelligence to interpret the law in a way that will bring harmony and peace in the community and welfare for the individual. That's all we ask.

Doctor Reitman asked if he might be allowed to read some communications from prominent physicians. His request was denied. He asked if he might offer in evidence two books on birth control, showing the importance of it, Dr. William J. Robinson's "Limitation of Offspring" and Dr. Drysdale's "Small Family System:" also the birth control issue of MOTHER EARTH. This request was also denied. Finally, he asked if he might offer the names and addresses of 8,000 men and women who had written to him for birth control information. The list was not accepted.

At this point, Deputy Assistant District Attorney Samuel Markowitz cross-examined the Defendant.

Q. Mr. Reitman, are you a licensed physician? A. Yes, I am a licensed physician.
Q. Where were you licensed? A. In Chicago, I was a member of the Chicago Medical Society.
Q. You are not licensed in New York City? A. No, I never practiced here.
Q. Your business is that of an advertising man or advance agent, if you call it such, for Emma Goldman and other persons? A. Well, I am sort of advance agent for the social revolution. I am the manager of an Anarchist magazine and I attend to the meetings and arrange Emma Goldman's lectures.
Q. Were you the one who arranged for the meeting

that caused the conviction of Emma Goldman? A. Yes, sir.

Q. You were in court when Emma Goldman was tried? A. Yes, sir.

Q. You heard the Court explain to Miss Goldman what the law was on the subject? A. I did.

Q. And you know the law and you have read it yourself? A. I have read it, but I don't know it.

Q. Have you read that section of the Penal Code? A. I have read many interpretations of it.

Q. Did you read that particular section of the law referred to by his Honor, section 1142? A. Yes, I have read section 1141 and section 1143 and I have seen how they have been passed upon in other cities and in other countries.

Q. Notwithstanding that, you held a protest meeting and you stand sponsor for the distribution of those pamphlets?

JUDGE MOSS: He says he does.

JUDGE MOSS: Is there anything else you want to say?

THE DEFENDANT: It depends upon the findings of the judges.

JUDGE MOSS: Have you any further witnesses that you wish to call now?

THE DEFENDANT: If the Court understands my position, I think I understand the Court's position.

JUDGE MOSS: You rest, do you?

THE DEFENDANT: I will rest the case.

JUDGE MOSS: Are you ready for judgment or do you wish to have sentence deferred or postponed to a further date?

THE DEFENDANT: That depends upon the sentence. You see there are a great many people interested in this decision.

JUDGE MOSS: Is it your wish to have sentence postponed or do you wish to have judgment now?

MR BOLTON HALL (Stepping to the front): I want to say that this man is not an agitator. He is simply an enthusiast who believes this is a great social benefit and he wishes to bring it as a test.

JUDGE MOSS: Are you a lawyer?

MR. HALL: Yes, sir, but I don't act here as a lawyer. I ask for an easy sentence in order—

JUDGE McINERNEY: You are an attorney, are you?

MR. HALL: Yes, sir.

JUDGE McINERNEY: How can you ask for leniency for a man who after the courts have instructed him that this thing is unlawful, persists in going ahead with it?

MR. HALL: Because I think the object of the law is not to punish but to preserve the social order.

THE DEFENDANT: May I say a few words before you pass judgment?

JUDGE MOSS: I wish you would confine your remarks to the question of mitigation of punishment.

THE DEFENDANT: I had hoped that the thousands of letters which came into the District Attorney's office and to the Judges of the Court of Special Sessions, and the two great Carnegie Hall meetings held within the past six weeks and the publicity given the subject in the papers, would cause you to regard Birth Control in the light that the future Judge is bound to do, namely, as a helpful propaganda. But I suppose you know your business. I went into this propaganda fully conscious of what the results might be. I would say with my comrade and co-worker, Emma Goldman, who appeared in this Court within the last three weeks, that "if giving one's life for the purpose of awakening social consciousness in the masses, a consciousness which will impel them to give quality rather than quantity to society, be a crime, I am glad to be such a criminal." While I do not object to going to jail, I believe that jails never help anyone and do not act as a deterrent and only make people more anti-social and less willing to be good citizens. I happen to be an American citizen. I am a physician. I spent the last ten years of my life in the various social movements which I thought would help do away with disease, poverty and ignorance. I think it is my pleasure to know most of the worthwhile social propagandists in America, and I am convinced with them that Birth Control is the only propaganda which gives evidence of reaching a rapid and satisfactory solution. There is no question to my mind that in the immediate future, Birth Control is going to be car-

ried on without the intereference of section 1141 or 1142.

Last Saturday a Dane rode his motor-cycle in from Connecticut into our office. He read in the papers about Birth Control. He said to me, "Doctor, I want to get a pamphlet. I am a married man. I have three children and they are very beautiful and I love them very much. My wife had her first baby when she was twenty; eleven months later we had our second baby, and twenty-six months later we had our third baby. My wife isn't very well now and I haven't much money. When my second baby was born I was out of work. Won't you please give me a pamphlet." Then, I did what might be properly called "inciting to rebellion against the State." I said, "My friend, I want to give you this pamphlet; I believe you should have it. I believe that your wife, that your babies and that the community would be better off. But the District Attorney of New York and several Judges are going to send me to jail because I want to help you and other men like you." Your honor, that man and the thousands like him are going to hate you and the courts and the law, and the District Attorney.

Your Honor: Birth Control propaganda is not going to come in the future, it's here. If you read Leonard D. Abbott's article in the April number of MOTHER EARTH you will see that hundreds of thousands of copies of Birth Control leaflets have been circulated. Since Emma Goldman's arrest, at least a dozen new pamphlets and leaflets have been called to my attention. Your decision will increase the number of these pamphlets and the pathos of this is that you compel these people to break the law, and lose their respect for government and for courts. I tell you, Your Honor, that this is a much more serious affair than you think. Birth Control is the new religion, the new hope, it's something that the people can work for, can go to jail for, can die for, and unless you quickly change your attitude towards Birth Control, America will face a condition which England was confronted with in Ireland within the last few weeks. It can be no comfort to the court and to the country if you will have to do in America what they had to do in Ireland. The people want Birth Control and I am glad to be one of those who gladly gave it to them.

At one point, Doctor Reitman was interrupted by hearty applause. Judge Moss threatened to clear the court-room. The crowd grew quieter, and Reitman was able to finish what he had to say.

Then Judge Moss passed sentence in the following words: "From your own admissions, Reitman, you persisted in violating the law. Your actions on the night of April 23rd were done with deliberation, premeditation and forethought, in defiance of the law. We are here to enforce the law and see that it is not violated. The sentence of the Court is that you be imprisoned in the Workhouse for sixty days."

TO MY FRIENDS, OLD AND NEW

By Emma Goldman

I HAVE received so many letters while in jail and since then, that it is quite impossible for me to answer each one separately. So I take the only medium of communication I have, Mother Earth, to write to all of you, dear faithful friends.

I know that you are very anxious to learn how I fared in the Queen's County retreat and whether my imprisonment has "reformed" me. I shall try to give you my impressions as best I can in limited space. I said at the Carnegie Hall meeting May 5th: "I am grateful to the authorities of New York for having sent me to jail." This may have seemed a mere phrase for effect, but I meant it absolutely and earnestly. I repeat the same now. I am deeply grateful to the authorities of New York City.

First, my imprisonment has advanced our cause as nothing I could have done had I gone up and down the county for a whole year lecturing before large audiences. It has brought to the fore scores of people; people I have never known or heard of before. So instead of reaching only the few, we are now able to reach thousands of men and women to whom Birth Control information has become a necessity and who are with us in our fight to break down the conspiracy of silence.

Secondly, my imprisonment has brought me in touch with the social victims, whom society first drives into crime and then hides behind closed bars in order to ap-

pease its conscience. What are the crimes of my fellow-prisoners and those like them who fill the prisons and jails all over the United States? Ignorance and poverty. "Poverty is the greatest of all crimes," say George Bernard Shaw in "Major Barbara." Who can deny it? Only those who will not see, who prefer to remain blind among the blind.

I wish to cite a few cases to prove that it is poverty and ignorance and nothing else which make the social offender.

A woman, a mother of a twenty-months-old baby, works as chamber-maid in a hotel. She is young, she is beautiful. She is full of the joy of life. She sees other women arrayed in gorgeous clothes while she does not even make enough to buy the cheapest things. She takes a skirt from a salesman's room. For that she is given an indeterminate sentence of one month to a year.

Oh, the cruelty of the indeterminate sentence! Only a mind parched with the stale virginity of a Katherine B. Davis could have conceived of such a law, which turns the prisoner over, body and soul, to the mercy of the prison and the patrol authorities, and undermines her health and spirits with constant uncertainty and fear.

There is the criminal, who, poor in health and out of work, while at church picks up a pocket-book and is hauled by the owner of the purse before court. She is too ill and wretched to plead her own case, nor has she money to engage counsel. Sick and trembling, she stands before the dispenser of justice, who pronounces in routine fashion: "Six months workhouse." In this case the victim happens to be refined, sensitive and self-conscious. She is a woman who has always been self-supporting, who has always retained her pride and her self-respect. What does jail do to her? It crushes her absolutely and unfits her for a place in the world. What a mockery justice is!

There is a young girl of nineteen. At the age of sixteen, the most glorious and mysterious age, her "kind" mother placed her in the Bedford Reformatory because she was "unduly and wayward." How is that ignorant mother to know that the adolescent stage is the awakening of spring; the time when nature in all her recklessness and wildness seeks expression, volcano-like, rushing

forward. She has not been told by her mother, and who in turn does not understand her child. The young girl is placed in a reformatory. In this case the preparatory school of vice and crime. After a long stay in that hideous institution the girl is allowed to go out on parole. She is prepared for nothing else but the street, and as she is both young and beautiful, she finds willing arms to receive her from the street. Shortly after that she is again picked up and given one year in the penitentiary. When that time is up, she will probably be returned to the Bedford Reformatory, the place which originally marred her.

Then there is the case of Katherine. Only a Dickens or a Victor Hugo or a Dostoyevsky could adequately describe the pathos of this case. Katherine has been a drudge all her life. She does not have to tell you so. She looks it, every bit of her. The silent drudge who has given service all her life. For twenty-nine years Katherine dreams of New York. Ah, if she only could get to this magic city, New York! But she is a drudge and has two children to support. How will she ever realize her dream? Still, she goes on dreaming and for aught I know, it is this dream which puts color into her dreary life.

Suddenly the miracle of miracles happens. Katherine comes into a great fortune—$100 accident insurance. Fifty dollars goes to her children and with the other fifty Katherine goes to New York, equiped only with an address to someone in Yonkers. On arrival she goes to a café on the water front and is there directed to a cheap room over a saloon. On Sunday, with joy in her heart and the ecstasy of being in a magic city, Katherine goes back to the café has beer food and one or two drinks, oblivious to the men sitting about in the same place. She returns to her rooms and begins to count her great capital of $41. Suddenly the door of her room is broken open and some one steals her capital. Katherine screams and rushes after the man, when she feels herself picked up and thrown down the flight of stairs. After a long time (it must have seemed very long to Katherine) she comes to from her deadly faint and finds herself in a pool of blood with a gash in her forehead. She has for-

gotten her dream of twenty-nine years and even the loss of her $41 in her effort to scramble up the stairs and get into her room. There she lies for a week, with only the "kind landlady" to relieve her misery by a few cold compresses on her head and some wretched food to sustain her weakened condition.

After a week Katherine is back on her feet. A drudge is not accustomed to indulge in rest, even if deathly sick. She goes back to the streets of the magic city in a seedy state, to make her way to Yonkers. After miles of walking she gets to a vacant lot, faint with fatigue and hunger and takes a drink out of her flask to pull up sufficient strength to go further. But instead she falls asleep.

Suddenly she feels a burning pain in the sole of her foot and stares into the blurred eyes of a policeman. Katherine is arrested for vagrancy and drunkenness and given sixty days in the workhouse. That is the end of Katherine's dream of 29 years about New York. What grim and tragic material for a master brush or pen! But what does society do with Katherine? It casts her out on the dung heap called prisons. It neither has imagination nor humanity enough to grasp that Katherine's crime was only poverty, and how dare the poor have dreams?

Last, but not least, there are hundreds of drug victims who, thanks to the new law, are picked up every day, suddenly cut off from their habit, and thrust into jail for many months. There they are undernourished and indifferently left to fight out the mad craving which they have neither the strength nor vitality to overcome. When their time is up, their health is undermined; their will, never too strong, is completely broken. They cannot sustain their existence unless they have some stimulant, so they go back to their habit.

All these human parials find closed doors on their return to society. If they are not picked up by the police immediately, they are so within a very short time, and, again, the prison doors open and close upon them. After all, what would the authorities of New York and other cities do without these criminals? The Police Department, the Court, the District Attorney? They all thrive upon those whom poverty and ignorance drive into crime.

The authorities cannot afford that crime should cease out of our midst, so they go on perpetuating our system which makes the criminal, and then hypocritically pretend that they are saving the system from the criminal.

Indeed, I am glad to have come close to this unfortunate human material. I found among them more humanity, a greater spirit of co-operation and helpfulness, than I would be likely to find among those who sit in judgment over them and send them to jail. Material which, if placed in a sane society, would do away with the terrible human waste and with all the tragedy and pain that is hidden away and barred "lest Christ should see how men their brothers maim."

Lastly, I have an additional proof, if proof were needed, that prison does not deter, that as far as the so-called common criminal is concerned, it does not cure him from the necessity of recommitting crimes. What else is he to do when he comes out with all the doors of society closed against him, without means of livelihood and without sympathy or understanding to greet him? Thus the prison is an endless circle wherein the prisoners move round and round, and all their prison experience does to them is to make them hate society more. True, they have no social background. Yet their hatred is sufficiently dangerous to undermine the ease of their tormenters.

As to the effect of prisons on criminals like myself, I do not have to tell you, dear friends, that it has only not lessened, but intensified, my devotion to our cause. The Birth Control agitation continues, now more than ever, even though a much heavier sentence was imposed upon our friend Ben Reitman than upon myself. If the authorities were foolish enough to think that they could stop it by giving me fifteen days or Reitman two months, they'll find themselves mistaken, as we have demonstrated in the marvelous meeting on Union Square, Saturday, May 20th, where a mass of humanity consisting of thousands clamored for Birth Control information. So you see, dear comrades, that I am right in my appreciation of the service rendered by the authorities of New York to the Birth Control movement.

For the devotion and assistance you have given me,

I could not, even if I tried, express what I feel. I hope to be able to prove to you through my actions what it has meant to me. I am starting out on my tour for the West on the first of June with a two-days stop in Cleveland and one day in Denver. Then for Los Angeles, where I hope to be until the early part of July. Letters will reach me there, care of Burbank Hall, 542 S. Main Street.

The work will continue until a free motherhood and a glorious childhood will be established. In this way we will set humanity free and create human arrangements which shall establish healthy and beautiful conditions for a healthy, beautiful and free race.

AN APPEAL IN BEHALF OF THE MAGONS

THE following letter has been received from Edgcumb Pinchon, Secretary of the Workers' International Defense League, of Los Angeles:

May 15, 1916.

As you have heard, Ricardo and Enrique Magon, editors of El Regeneracion (Los Angeles), have been beaten and jailed by the police. Why? Because they boldly advocate free land and free men in Mexico—to the terror of the land speculator and exploiter.

The Magons are charged, in the federal court, with "Depositing in the U. S. Mail, matter tending to incite murder, arson, and treason."

Their real offense, of course, is that instead of standing for the capitalistic looting of their country, they cautioned the peons to retain their arms until they gained full possession of their land and not to trust the promises of politicians.

Twice before the Magon brothers have suffered imprisonment for using the "constitutional right" of free press and free speech, and out of the ten years they have labored in this land of Liberty, five years have been lost in our Christian prisons.

Shall they go for a third time?

The answer rests with us who are still free.

How will we support them? How loud and strong and

bold will our voices be raised in their behalf? How determined will our Action be?

Judges and courts have ears—their very existence depends upon the workers!

Will the workers see their press killed entirely?

Already this year three radical editors have been jailed and three other publications suppressed by the same power that is using the U. S. army to crush labor in Mexico. "Alarm" and "Revolt" have been suppressed and now Alexander Berkman's "Blast" has been denied the mails —because it belittled the sacred dollar mark by printing it on a flag?

What are we going to do?

In Los Angeles the workers and the radicals of all groups and nine different nationalities have organized The Workers' Defense League. It is holding mass meetings, sending out protests, has engaged Attorneys Kirk and Ryckman—veterans in the workers' fight—to defend the Magon brothers. We are going to demand and enforce a free press. Will you help? How much?

Free press and free speech are labor's first line of defense. We are going to defend our comrades on the firing line—and we need the assistance of every worker in the land. This is your fight. Prove yourself—give heroically to the heroes who have been captured by the Enemy!

Send contributions to P. D. Noel, Financial Secretary, 621 American Bank Bldg., Los Angeles, Cal.

THE SECOND CARNEGIE HALL MEETING

THAT Carnegie Hall was filled twice, within the space of two months, by audiences that came to listen to speeches on birth control, is evidence of intense popular interest in this question. The second meeting, held on May 5th, and arranged as a welcome to Emma Goldman on her release from prison, was even more enthusiastic than the first. Max Eastman, editor of "The Masses," took the chair, and called the attention of his hearers to the remarkable intellectual pedigree of the birth control movement. John Stuart Mill, he pointed out, was one of those most interested in a subject often

dismissed by moral snobs as unworthy of consideration. Alois Trnka played the violin. Harry Weinberger spoke of the martyrdom that, in every age, awaited those who pioneered new truths. Arturo Giovannitti made a brilliant address in which he regretted that he was unable to bring to that platform a tired mother of many children as an illustration of the way in which a lack of birth control information worked out in actual life. Dr. Cecile L. Greil, who was in poor health, said that she had been nerved to come to the meeting by a case in a medical clinic that had been brought to her attention on that very day.

Mrs. Stokes explained the philosophy back of her action in an address which concluded as follows:

"Since the dinner at the Brevoort I have received scores of letters pleading for information on methods of contraception. I have spent a good deal of my time answering them, refusing no one. Letters from mothers with over-large families and a small surplus of strength and hardly any income. Women whose several children have died at birth because of constitutional inability to bring children into the world able to survive. Letters from young mothers with two or three or four children who, because of sickness or temporary worklessness on the part of the wage earner, desire to wait for a time when they can decently and safely take care of more children before bringing them into the world. Letters from mothers who have been warned by their physicians that another child birth would mean the mother's death, but to whom those same doctors denied contraceptive information. Letters from mothers already burdened with large families, who frankly confess that they have resorted, from time to time in their desperation, to abortion, begging for the knowledge that would make unnecessary a repetition of the horrors they have passed through. Such and many more have come to me day after day and are still coming. Some of them too tragic and too terrible to quote or to mention. Very many of them barely literate, with addresses that lead to some of the worst living sections of the city. Letters from farmer's wives, letters from women of the middle class, letters from the farthest ends of the country. Requests even from Catholic women. And from all, the God bless yous and the

words of thankfulness and encouragement that indicate the deep, the crying, the immediate need, and the widespread revolt against the law which declares the giving out of contraceptive information a crime.

"Frankly, then, I have broken the law over and over, because I believe that since science has shown the way, the mothers of the world should have the power and the right to control birth—to have as many or as few children as the conditions of their health or their particular material environment, coupled with a right standard of living, shall dictate.

"My chief interest is not birth control, but Socialist propaganda, which aims to place land and industry within the reach of all the people upon the terms of equal opportunity—which purposes to eliminate poverty and insecurity by eliminating the waste and robbery of Capitalism. But pending the day when the Socialists have sufficient control to effect these basic changes, there are lesser causes to meet immediate vital needs that I believe to be worth fighting for, and birth control is such a cause.

"I do not, of course, want to go to jail, and, again, I am not bidding for arrest. I wish to be saved all that, naturally. But I am not afraid. For twenty-three years, Capitalist Society has done its worst to me. It gave me an underfed childhood, hemmed me in on all sides by the stone walls of No Oportunity, and, when I was hardly old enough to bear the burden, it began to turn my very heart's blood into gold for others—sometimes for people I never saw and who never saw me. Whole seasons at a time it worked me not only the long day but also far into the night, giving me in return semi-starvation, a starved body, a few indecent rags upon it, no schooling, frequently the hard floor for a bed, and the weight of an unnameable nightmare as each succeeding year added another mouth to feed, then eliminated the father of those six little ones, in the unequal struggle for bread. (Don't point at *one* who has somehow chanced to survive but look down into the pit where the millions struggle weakly, and where millions have succumbed.)

"Capitalist society has not succeeded in making me bitter, but it has succeeded in making me unafraid.

"Therefore, be the penalty what it may, I here frankly

offer to give out these slips with the forbidden information to those needy wives and mothers who will frankly come and take them, as soon as the speaking is over."

The enthusiasm which greeted Emma Goldman was a great inspiration to our comrade and made her voice vibrant with sustained emotion. As part of her speech is contained in her article it is unnecessary to quote her here.

The dramatic moment of the evening came at the close of the meeting when Rose Pastor Stokes, in defiance of law, gave out a hundred type-written slips containing the forbidden information on birth control. Hundreds crowded around her, eagerly struggling to get the information.

BIRTH CONTROL DEMONSTRATION IN UNION SQUARE

No fitter protest against the conviction of Dr. Ben L. Reitman for giving birth control information could have been devised than the great open air demonstration held on Union Square, New York City, Saturday, May 20th. At two o'clock, a touring car, containing Emma Goldman and Anna Sloan, reached the Square. They were joined by Bolton Hall, Leonard D. Abbott, Jessie Ashley, and Ida Rauh Eastman. The speaking was done from the automobile. Bolton Hall presided, and enthusiastic addresses were made by Emma Goldman, Leonard D. Abbott, and Ida Rauh Eastman. The last named struck the keynote when she said: "To-day, I am here not to speak, but to do." She continued:

"It is not in order to defy the law and the authorities that I shall distribute information about birth control, but because it is more moral that an old, ignorant law should be violated than that the right of the people should be violated to get information of vital importance to them and their families. And more important than the right of the people to such information is the actual getting of the information.

"Do you believe that the police, the District Attorney and the Judge should have the power to prevent me from giving this information to mothers and fathers who want it, and to make me their ally in forcing on them the

degradation and anxiety and misery of rearing a large family in poverty? Do you believe they should make me the ally of the capitalist exploiters of society who count upon a surplus labor market in order to grind down the poor and would encourage families of one hundred if they could, somewhat like our great champion of large families?

"If you do not believe this is right, then this law must be broken or repealed. And one of the best ways to hasten the repeal of this law is to break it and persuade others to do so. In this way great masses of the indifferent and ignorant public will have their attention poignantly called to the iniquity and fatal consequence of this law.

"Under the ghastly competitive system of to-day the child born to the poor who survives infancy is confronted by a childhood of work and drudgery, a manhood, or womanhood of work, drudgery and anxiety, and a poverty-eaten old age.

"Is that a picture that any mother carrying a child within her can look upon with any joy in her soul? And even now, if at after years of care and struggle she has brought her son to maturity, what do the lords of capitalism or patriots for profit propose to do?

"Send her son to be murdered or murder some other woman's son in order to create world markets for themselves filled with wage slaves—the sons and daughters of other women. I think the really ideal mother would say 'No, I will bear no children— I love them too much!'

"Therefore one of the most important and fundamental things we can do to-day to lighten the burden of women and strengthen the hands of laboring people is to distribute information which will teach them how to limit their families. If you do not receive one, do not be disturbed, as we contemplate opening headquarters in the near future where you may receive information by applying for it."

Jessie Ashley spoke in the same spirit. Then both women, standing in the automobile, openly handed out leaflets carrying the title, "Why and How the Poor Should Not Have Many Children."

A score of girls on the outskirts of the crowd distributed the same leaflets.

The law was broken, and the people obtained, without let or hindrance, the knowledge so vital to their welfare.

A greeting was sent from the meeting to Dr. Ben L. Reitman in Queen's County Jail, Long Island City.

REPORT OF CARNEGIE HALL MEETING

Friday, May 5th.

RECEIPTS

Tickets Sold at Carnegie Hall	$873.50	
Tickets Sold in Office of M. E.	396.75	
Tickets Sold at Maisel's Store	108.50	
Collection	150.00	$1,528.75

EXPENSES

Carnegie Hall Rent at percentage basis	$250.00	
Ushers	32.50	
Stage	10.00	
Box Office	25.00	
Dinner to Speakers	25.00	
Tips	15.00	
Jewish Ads	100.00	
Call for Ads	25.00	
Printing Posters, Leaflets, Programs, Application Blanks, Tickets, including Letter Heads and Envelopes	150.00	
Printing Carnegie Posters	15.00	
Printing Carnegie Tickets	7.50	
Distributing of Circulars including cost of Horse and Wagon	45.00	
Postage	75.00	
Mimiagraphing and Addressing Envelopes and Special Help	55.00	
Telephone, Telegrams, etc.	16.00	
Piano	13.00	
Pianist	10.00	
Letter Mimiagraphed, Envelopes Addressed	10.00	
Union Square Demanstration, 15,000 Throwaways, Printing, and Distribution	25.00	
Newspaper Reprint	15.00	
Postage	30.00	
Automobile	8.00	
Ads Jewish Ads for Union Square	30.00	
Ads English Paper, Call	15.00	
Miscellaneous	15.00	
	$1,217.00	$1,217.00

Total	311.75
Balance of First Carnegie Meeting	315.42
Grand Total	$627.17

The balance to be applied for Birth Control Agitation and Mother Earth sustaining fund.

CAPLAN DEFENSE FUND.

RECEIPTS

Feb. 5—Collection at E. G. Jewish Meeting	$30.00	
Feb. 5—Collection in Philadelphia	20.00	
Mch. 11—From C. & S. Defense Fund, N. Y....	50.00	
Mch. 13—From C. & S. Defense Fund, N. Y...	100.00	
Mch. 13—Carl Schoepke, Summit, N. J.....	1.00	
Mch. 13—From Caplan, Los Angeles, Cal.....	100.00	
Mch. 15—Paul Sautler, Philadelphia, Pa.....	.50	
Mch. 18—Collection for Caplan	50.40	
Apr. 1—Collected at Tomask Stogie Factory by H. Carter	4.00	
Apr. 10—C. & S. Fund per Lang.....	7.25	
Apr. 10—H. A. Goff, Pittsburgh, Pa.....	1.00	
Apr. 17—From B. Seneker, C. & S. Fund, N. Y.	150.00	
Apr. 28—Union of Russian Workers, Waterbury, Conn.	4.55	
Apr. 28—Concert and Box Party in Washington for C. & S., per Kisluick.....	30.00	
May 18—Union of Russian Workers, Waterbury, Conn.	10.00	
May 18—From Washington, per Lillian Kisluick	4.00	$562.70

EXPENSES

Mch. 14—To Margolis	$200.00	
Mch. 18—To Caplan	50.00	
Mch. 18—Telegraphed to C.	100.00	
Mch. 18—Charge on Wire	3.22	
May 18—To Margolis	150.00	$503.22
Sent to D. C.		$59.48

E. G. and Ben L. Reitman Defense Fund will appear in full in the July issue.

DIRECT ACTION—Conscious individual or collective effort to protest against, or remedy, social conditions through the systematic assertion of the economic power of the workers.

ANARCHIST AND SEX LITERATURE

FOR SALE BY

MOTHER EARTH, 20 East 125th St., New York

By EMMA GOLDMAN

		Postage
Anarchism and Other Essays (with Biography)	$1.00	.10
Social Significance of the Modern Drama	1.00	.15
Anarchism and What It Really Stands For	.10	
Syndicalism	.05	
Preparedness	.05	
Patriotism	.05	
Marriage and Love	.10	
Philosophy of Atheism and Failure of Christianity	.10	

By PETER KROPOTKIN

The Great French Revolution, 1789—1793	$2.00	.20
Mutual Aid	.50	.15
Memoirs of a Revolutionist	2.00	.20
Conquest of Bread	.50	.05
Fields, Factories and Workshops	.50	.05
Modern Science and Anarchism	.25	
Anarchist Communism	.05	
The Commune of Paris	.05	
Russian Literature	1.50	.15
War and Capitalism	.05	
An Appeal to the Young	.05	

Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist, by ALEXANDER BERKMAN	1.50	.15
Selected Works, Biography, Poems, Essays, and Stories, by VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE	1.00	.15
God and the State, by MICHAEL BAKUNIN	.25	
Anarchism—An able and impartial study, by PAUL ELTZBACHER	1.50	.15
The Ego and His Own, by MAX STIRNER	.75	.15
Speeches of the Chicago Anarchists	.75	.10
Liberty and the Great Libertarians, by CHARLES T. SPRADING	1.50	.15
The Science of Society, by STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS	1.50	.15
Anarchism and Malthus, by C. L. JAMES	.05	
The Right to Ignore the State, by HERBERT SPENCER	.05	
What Is Property? by P. J. PROUDHON	2.00	.15
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